

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 179462

NODIS
FOR Z. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT ALEXANDRIA 745 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 30 JUL 77

QUOTE S E C R E T ALEXANDRIA 745

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, EG, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: STATE 177886

SUMMARY: DELIVERED PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE TO
PRESIDENT SADAT TODAY AND READ IT TO HIM. SADAT
LISTENED CAREFULLY AND EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE
FOR LETTER AND PRESIDENT CARTER'S CONTINUING INTEREST.
HE VOICED CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT LETTER SUGGESTS
PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF SECRETARY'S UPCOMING VISIT WILL
SECRET

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BE PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS. HE DEEMED THIS INSUFFICIENT
AND OPINED ISRAELIS WILL SEIZE ON IT TO SIDETRACK
PARTY FROM COMING TO GRIPS WITH MAIN ISSUE--PEACE.
HE BELIEVED WE SHOULD GET ON WITH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES
AND THAT SECRETARY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE.
SPECIFICALLY, IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING SIDETRACKED,
HE IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SECRETARY VANCE VARIOUS
ALTERNATIVES TO DISCUSS WITH ISRAELIS AS PROPOSALS
COMING FROM USG RATHER THAN FROM HIM. THESE ALTER-
NATIVES WOULD BE REASONABLE AND SHOULD GIVE USG

OPPORTUNITY STATE PUBLICLY IT IS PRESSURING BOTH SIDES TO ACCEPT ITS PROPOSAL. WITHOUT SOME ADVANCE UNDERSTANDING ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, SADAT OPINED, THERE NO USE CONVENING GENEVA. A REASONABLE AMERICAN PROPOSAL WILL NOT ONLY PREVENT ISRAELIS FROM UNDERMINING PEACE EFFORT, BUT WILL ALSO ELIMINATE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AREA. HE HOPED HIS CONCEPT WILL COMMEND ITSELF TO THE PRESIDENT. HE RECALLED THAT HE AND "MY FRIEND, PREISIDENT CARTER," HAD AGREED THAT GENEVA SHOULD BE CONVENED SOLELY TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ALREADY ACHIEVED IN PRINCIPLE. ONLY USG CAN ACHIEVE THIS AND AVOID STERILE PROCEDURAL DISCUSSIONS. I REMINDED HIM THAT PRESIDENT CARTER MUST WEIGH VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES IN DETERMINING HOW TO PROCEED. PRESIDENT CARTER IS HEARTENED BY PRESIDENT SADAT'S CONFIDENCE IN HIM AND WILL CERTAINLY CONSIDER CAREFULLY THOUGHTFUL VIEWS HE HAD EXPRESSED. SECRETARY WOULD DOUBTLESS WANT TO DISCUSS THEM WHEN HE ARRIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT THIS AFTERNOON IN ORDER DELIVER PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER. VP MUBARAK WAS ALSO PRESENT. FAHMY HAD JUST LEFT, BUT I HAD BRIEFED HIM EARLIER RE CONTENTS OF LETTER. AFTER I HAD READ THE SECRET

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LETTER SLOWLY TO SADAT, HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO MAKE A FEW OBSERVATIONS. SPEAKING SLOWLY AND PICKING HIS WORDS WITH OBVIOUS CARE, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

2. FIRST, HE WISHED TO CONVEY HIS THANKS AND GRATITUDE TO PRESIDENT CARTER FOR THE MESSAGE AND FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S APPRECIATION OF THE ME SITUATION. SENDING SECRETARY VANCE TO THE AREA AT THIS TIME SIGNIFIES THAT PRESIDENT CARTER INTENDS TO ACHIEVE A PEACE AGREEMENT.

3. SECOND, HE WISHED TO REPEAT HIS CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE LATTER'S ADMINISTRATION. SADAT SAID THAT HIS WHOLE PLANNING IS BASED ON THIS PROPOSITION. HE HAD REPEATEDLY SAID SO PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY. THIS EXPRESSION OF HIS CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD APPEAR AGAIN IN ABC INTERVIEW WHICH WILL BE MADE PUBLIC ON SUNDAY. IN THAT INTERVIEW, HE HAD REITERATED HIS TRUST IN PRESIDENT CARTER. HE HAD ALSO STATED THAT HE DOES NOT WANT PRESIDENT CARTER TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS ON EITHER ISRAEL OR ON HIM. HE, SADAT, WOULD REFUSE ANY EFFORT TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS.

4. THIRD, HE WISHED TO EXPRESS HIS GRATIFICATION FOR THE POINT IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER THAT HE WOULD SEEK TO FULFILL WHAT HE AND PRESIDENT CARTER HAD AGREED

UPON IN THEIR WASHINGTON TALKS. "THIS MEANS A LOT TO ME," HE SAID.

5. NEXT, SADAT SAID, HE WISHED TO TURN TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LETTER. THIS GAVE HIM A FEW PROBLEMS, SINCE IT SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF THE SECRETARY'S UPCOMING VISIT WILL BE TO DISCUSS PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS. THIS, SADAT OPINED, IS INSUFFICIENT. HIS IDEA, AS HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER IN THEIR PRIVATE SECRET

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TALK, IS THAT IF FOCUS IS ON DISCUSSING PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS, WE WILL GET NOWHERE. ISRAELIS WILL RAISE "MILLIONS OF QUESTIONS," ALL DESIGNED TO CREATE FURTHER DELAY.

6. INSTEAD, SADAT RECOMMENDED THAT WE SHOULD GRAPPLE IMMEDIATELY WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM RATHER THAN BE DIVERTED BY PROCEDURAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WILL ONLY UNDERMINE WHAT NEEDS BE DONE. HE RECALLED THAT HE AND USG HAD WORKED TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE SINAI I AND II AND GOLAN I. HE WISHED TO DO SO AGAIN. HIS EXPERIENCE WITH THE ISRAELIS, HE ASSERTED, HAS TAUGHT HIM THAT WHENEVER THEY FIND A CHANCE TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES, THEY DO SO BY RAISING DIVERSIONARY SIDE ISSUES SO AS TO AVOID FOCUSING ON THE MAIN ISSUE. HE URGED THAT THEY NOT BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO AGAIN. "WE ARE FOR DISCUSSING THE MAIN ISSUE." SADAT ASSERTED, "PEACE."

7. SADAT RECALLED THAT HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER, AND SUBSEQUENTLY MADE PUBLIC HIS VIEW, THAT THE UNITED STATES' ATTITUDE TOWARD AND HANDLING OF THE ME PROBLEM IS CRITICAL TO ANY SUCCESS. IN THIS CONTEXT, SADAT SAID, "WHAT I WOULD LIKE SECRETARY VANCE TO DO ON THIS TRIP IS THIS--LET US GO STRAIGHT TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM, NAMELY, ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK FOR GENEVA. THIS FRAMEWORK SHOULD BE AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL TO BOTH PARTIES, I.E., THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS. IN THIS WAY WE CAN ELIMINATE ALL SIDE ISSUES AND DIFFICULTIES, WHICH EITHER THE ISRAELIS OR THE ARABS MIGHT RAISE. PLAINLY SPEAKING, I AM READY TO HELP IN PUTTING TOGETHER THIS TYPE OF A FRAMEWORK, WHICH BOTH SIDES CAN AGREE UPON. IF THIS IS DONE, CONVENING OF GENEVA WILL ONLY BE A SECRET

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NOMINAL AFFAIR."

8. SADAT CONTINUED, "IN THIS CONTEXT, I AM READY TO GIVE SECRETARY VANCE VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES TO DISCUSS

WITH THE ISRAELIS AS PROPOSALS COMING FROM THE UNITED STATES RATHER THAN FROM ME. IF SUCH PROPOSALS SEEM TO BE COMING FROM ME, THE ISRAELIS WILL OBJECT. I WISH TO UNDERSCORE THAT TOGETHER THE UNITED STATES AND EGYPT CAN ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL THAT I ENVISAGE, AND FOR WHICH I AM PREPARED TO OFFER ALTERNATIVES, IS ONE WHICH SHOULD BE VERY REASONABLE AND SHOULD THEREFORE COMMEND ITSELF TO BOTH SIDES." IF THIS IS DONE, SADAT OPINED, THE UNITED STATES WILL RECEIVE THE FULL CREDIT IN THE AREA. THE SOVIETS WILL FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES BE ELIMINATED FROM THE AREA.

9. MOREOVER, HE RECALLED, HE KNEW ISRAEL TO BE "VERY ARROGANT". HE WISHED TO AVOID ANY COMPLICATIONS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION AND FOR PRESIDENT CARTER BY BEING "VERY REASONABLE." IF THE ISRAELIS ARE ASKED TO SIT AT GENEVA WITHOUT SOME ADVANCE UNDERSTANDING, THEY WILL SIMPLY PLAY FOR TIME AND DAMAGE PEACE PROSPECTS. "THERE IS NO USE IN CONVENING GENEVA UNLESS IT IS WELL PREPARED," HE SAID. HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD SUGGESTED DURING HIS WASHINGTON TALKS THAT A UNITED STATES WORKING GROUP BE SET UP UNDER SECRETARY VANCE TO PREPARE FOR THE MEETING.

10. AS HE HAD ALSO TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER IN THEIR PRIVATE TALK, WHATEVER POINTS ISRAEL RAISES, EGYPT WILL HAVE ANSWERS FOR THEM SO THAT A "PROPER SOLUTION" CAN BE ACHIEVED FOR ANY PROBLEM. ISRAEL, AS HE HAD ALSO TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER, WILL TRY THE LATTER'S PATIENCE TO THE UTMOST. HOWEVER, WITH EGYPT SEEKING TO BE "VERY REASONABLE," IT WILL SAVE TIME FOR ALL PARTIES. IT WILL ALSO LESSEN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO CREATE MISCHIEF, WHICH SADAT SAID HE ANTICIPATES
SECRET

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WILL BE ATTEMPTED, MAINLY THROUGH THE SYRIANS AND PERHAPS ALSO THROUGH THE PALESTINIANS. ARAFAT, HOWEVER, HE INSISTED, IS IN COMPLETE ACCORD WITH HIM.

11. " I WANT TO MAKE MYSELF CLEAR," SADAT CONCLUDED, "IF SECRETARY VANCE TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY OF THIS VISIT TO PUT PRESSURE ON BOTH THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS THROUGH A REASONABLE AMERICAN PROPOSAL, AND DECLARES THIS TO BE THE CASE SO THAT IT IS PUBLICLY KNOWN THAT BOTH ARE BEING PRESSURED, WE CAN RESOLVE THE ISSUES EVEN BEFORE GENEVA. THIS WILL HAVE THE EFFECT OF KICKING THE SOVIETS OUT OF THE AREA AND WILL FACILITATE MY JOB IN AFRICA. I AM READY TO DISCUSS THIS POSSIBILITY WITH SECRETARY VANCE ON THE UPCOMING VISIT AND HOPE THAT IT COMMENDS ITSELF TO PRESIDENT CARTER. I WISH TO REMIND MY FRIEND, PRESIDENT CARTER, THAT WE AGREED IN WASHINGTON THAT WE SHOULD CONVENE GENEVA SOLELY TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ALREADY ACHIEVED IN PRINCIPLE." ONLY USG

CAN ACHIEVE THIS SINCE USG IS "VEIN OF LIFE" FOR ISRAEL.
STERILE PROCEDURAL DISCUSSIONS, WHICH WILL ONLY DELAY
RESOLVING THE ISSUES, SHOULD BE AVOIDED.

12. I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT I WOULD REPORT HIS
COMMENTS AT ONCE. AS HE KNEW, PRESIDENT CARTER AND
THE ADMINISTRATION ARE AS ANXIOUS AS HE TO MAKE MEAN-
INGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD A SUBSTANTIVE SOLUTION OF THE
ARAB/ISRAELI PROBLEM. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS APPRECIATED
THE THOUGHTS PRESIDENT SADAT HAS EXPRESSED IN THE PAST
AS WELL AS HIS HELPFULNESS IN TRYING TO CREATE A NON-
CONTROVERSIAL ATMOSPHERE FOR THE CATTER/BEGIN TALKS.
AS HE WOULD EQUALLY APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, PRESIDENT
CARTER MUST ALSO WEIGH THE VIEWS AND POSITIONS OF
ISRAEL IN DETERMINING HOW BEST TO PROCEED. THE TASK
SECRET

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OF ACHIEVING AN ARAB/ISRAELI SETTLEMENT, AS WE ALL AGREE,
IS FORMIDABLE, BUT PRESIDENT CARTER IS HEARTENED IN HIS
EFFORTS TO MOVE THE ME PEACE PROCESS FORWARD BY
PRESIDENT SADAT'S CONFIDENCE IN HIM. I WAS SURE
PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE WOULD CONSIDER
CAREFULLY THE VIEWS HE HAD JUST EXPRESSED AND THAT THE
SECRETARY WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT WHEN HE
ARRIVES. SADAT SAID HE IS LOOKING FORWARD TO THE SECRETARY'S VISIT.
CHASE

UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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